

## UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

No. 4

The Education of the Boys of Hawaii  
and their  
Economic Outlook

A STUDY IN THE FIELD OF  
RACE RELATIONSHIP

BY

ROMANZO ADAMS

Professor of Sociology

and

DAN KANE-ZO KAI



JANUARY, 1928

Published by the  
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## PREFACE

This study represents a genuine collaboration. For several years the writer has enjoyed opportunities for conversation with high school and college boys and with representatives of those fathers and mothers who speak English. He has examined pretty carefully the literature and statistical material bearing on the problem. During the last year Mr. Dan Kane-Zo Kai has traveled extensively in the Territory to ascertain the attitudes of Japanese parents through personal conversation and, when practicable, through discussion groups. The school children were permitted to reveal their attitudes through a series of questionnaires.

Mr. Kai's qualifications for this work were of a high order. He received his early education in Japan, and so is familiar with the standards and the background of custom of the Japanese parents. He has worked on a plantation and elsewhere in Hawaii, and so knows the life here. He continued his education in Iolani School in Honolulu and also in a Honolulu Japanese language school and, finally, at the University of California, from which he graduated with sociology as his major subject. Moreover, he brought to the work a rare ability to see the situation objectively and to comprehend widely dissimilar points of view.

Mr. Kai did most of the work of tabulating the answers to the questionnaires. The data gathered through conversations and discussions was made available through carefully written reports and abstracts. Anonymity was preserved throughout.

While the writer assumes full responsibility for the manner of presentation, the interpretations were worked out jointly through constant discussion as the work of organizing the data was going on.

We both wish to express our appreciation to the public schools and the language schools for their cooperation, to the newspapers for helping to create friendliness and confidence, and to the hundreds of men, women, boys, and girls whose help was essential to the success of the study.

ROMANZO ADAMS.

University of Hawaii,  
October 12, 1927.

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# The Education of the Boys of Hawaii and their Economic Outlook

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## HAWAII A LABORATORY

Hawaii possesses some of the characteristics of a laboratory of social and racial relationships. Its population includes numerous representatives of several racial and cultural groups from Europe, America, and Asia, besides its own native race, which is and will continue to be an important factor in the life of the Islands. The contacts between these various peoples have been established in recent times and under circumstances that are well known and adequately recorded.

There has been much change—economic, educational, political, and social. Conflicts have been generated and adjustments have been and will be worked out. The existence of several racial and cultural groups has tended to tone down conflict and facilitate accommodation. The differences in traditions and in the practical circumstances of the various groups and in their reactions to life in Hawaii help to save the student from dogmatic doctrines based on special conditions; they furnish the "variation in the circumstance" so essential to scientific thought.

The area and population of the Territory are small. The field of study is of manageable size. The economic activities are simple. Hawaii has been known as a one crop country and even now there are but two important crops, sugar cane and pineapples. The secondary industries rest on agriculture almost solely. Because of the simplicity of Hawaii's economic organization, the racial aspect of its social problems stands out more distinctly.



The geographic isolation of the Islands has favored a comparatively independent social movement, but there have been definite measureable influences from outside sources. This combination of isolation and contacts has tended to give Hawaii a comparatively independent viewpoint—a viewpoint not dominated by any one country, but influenced by several countries widely separated in location and culture. To an unusual extent a man in Hawaii, in the ordinary course of the day's work, thinks in terms of three continents and two or three systems of culture. This comparative isolation of the problems and independence in the point of view favor an independent formulation of the problems and, perhaps, an independent solution.

In certain important respects the problems of Hawaii are similar to the larger problems of the Pacific area. There have been established contacts between the people of the Occident and those of the Orient. While there is a difference in the intensity or intimacy of contact, there are important points of resemblance in the situations and the issues. In Hawaii, as in the larger situation, the Occidental had the advantage of superior scientific knowledge, of superior mechanical contrivances, and of superior economic, political, and military organization. On account of these advantages he was able to take the initiative, to formulate and execute policies and thus to control social activities in a degree more than proportionate to his numbers. The Occidental men have been sitting in the seats of power. They have developed those abilities and those attitudes that normally result from conscious exercise of power.

The Orientals in Hawaii, as in the larger area, have had to accept a position of inferior privilege and power. They have had less than a proportionate share of initiative. They have worked to the plans of others or have engaged in the minor economic activities. They have done a large share of the hard work while enjoying relatively little of the comforts and luxuries. In Hawaii the Orientals have not enjoyed political equality and there have been civil disabilities.

In Hawaii, as in the larger area, the Oriental has accepted his position of inferior status as a temporary expedient. If the Occidental flattered himself into believing that his superior status was the result of superior native capacity, the Oriental did not agree with him.

Now the Orientals in Hawaii and elsewhere are acquiring scientific knowledge, they are using and making modern types of machinery. They are becoming familiar with the industrial, commercial, and political organization of the West. They are proving their ability to master and utilize the valuable elements

of Western culture. They are getting into a position to challenge Western leadership. They are demanding with ever increasing articulateness that there be a readjustment of social relationships on such a basis that a man of any race may have opportunity according to his ability without adverse racial discrimination.

In Hawaii, as in the larger Pacific area, this demand for a recognition or assumption of race equality generates conflict. Status is not modified without struggle. It is not in either case primarily a race struggle but a struggle for economic, political, and general social status in which race difference is an important complicating factor. On the one hand, there is custom, acquired prestige, contracts, vested property rights, and mental attitudes produced by contact on the historic basis. On the other, there is the new knowledge, the new education, the new types of experience, the new national or racial spirit, the new appreciation of ancient culture, and new ambition that deny the right of contacts to continue on the historic basis. In its main outlines the issues in Hawaii are similar to those of the larger Pacific area. There is a demand for a readjustment that will take into consideration not only the recent cultural progress of Oriental people, but also their capacity for further achievement.

Since the conflict situation in Hawaii is, in its fundamental aspects, similar to that of the larger Pacific area, it follows that any achievement in Hawaii in the direction of a solution will be of value in relation to those larger problems which the Institute of Pacific Relations is accustomed to consider. Because of the relatively small area and population of Hawaii, and the closer, more intimate type of contact between the different elements of its population, it ought to be possible to make more speed in the formulation and solution of our problems than will be possible for the larger area. To the extent, therefore, that the people of Hawaii are able to lift the conflict into the higher plane of reason and understanding, and to work out adjustments on the basis of truth, justice, and good will, their experience may function in the consideration of the larger issues involved in the relations of all Pacific nations. In this way the Islands will perform their service as a laboratory.

For more than half a century Hawaii's fundamental industry has been developed almost wholly through the employment of foreign born labor. Her native sons, relative to the adult male population, have been few and they have found employment in secondary industries, not in agricultural labor. Employment in these secondary industries is preferred because of better wages, pleasanter work and working conditions, and superior social status.

Now the number of boys is increasing so greatly that many of them will be unable to find employment in the secondary industries. But, by virtue of custom and education, and on account of general social influences, and especially because of the attitudes of their parents, all or nearly all of the boys are definitely aiming to improve their social and economic status through securing what is considered preferred employment. They expect to be skilled or semi-skilled laborers, independent farmers, clerks, bookkeepers, merchants, and professional men. For many, a pretty serious disillusionment lies ahead.

The problem relates to the future of the large numbers who will not be able to secure the expected opportunities in Hawaii. Will they change their attitude and accept work in the cane and the pineapple fields, or will they emigrate from the Territory—perhaps to the mainland of the United States? Will the owners and managers of plantations make agricultural work more attractive so as to keep Hawaii's native sons in Hawaii, or will they continue to depend almost exclusively upon foreign born labor?

The situation has many problematic features. Initiative and policy belong to the owners. The existing attitudes of the workers taken in connection with opportunities elsewhere open to them are important terms of the problem. The general economic situation of the industries sets limits to what can be done. The customs and the habitual attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of owners and managers are important factors. Complicating the whole situation is the fact of racial differences which, for the time under consideration, may be considered permanent, while the cultural characteristics of the various racial groups are undergoing rapid and important change. Most important, in this cultural change, is the growing intensity of feeling for equality of social status, including economic opportunity. Discontent with economic discrimination because of race is growing.

The writer does not attempt to offer a plan for the solution of the problem—he does not advocate some particular procedure or policy—but would look with favor upon some experimentation. His concern is to see and set forth the terms of the problem with as much clarity as may be. He believes that an organization designed to facilitate communication between the various people concerned would reveal the essential relevant facts more adequately. When the terms of the problem are better understood, it will be time to propose a solution.

The main purpose of this study is to discover more adequately the beliefs, expectations, and attitudes of the people who are, perhaps, most important and least articulate—the field workers who are the fathers of boys, and the boys themselves.

It may be permissible for the writer to present in advance certain information and opinions relative to wages and general economic welfare.

It is very difficult to make satisfactory statements about the wage rates on plantations in Hawaii. This is because of the complexity of the system and the wide variations in actual wages. More than half of the workers—on some plantations as high as 95 per cent—are working at a piece rate or on some sort of crop contract system. While a wage of a dollar a day plus the bonus is advanced to contract workers, the final pay of the long term contractors depends on the yield of sugar cane, of sugar, and, in some cases, on the value of the sugar. The worker carries a share of the risk and shares in the prosperity. If the weather is good, if the pests are not bad, and if the workers do their work well so that there is a good crop, they sometimes realize as much as four dollars a day. Under adverse conditions it may be much less. Last March the short term contractors, who are paid on a different basis, received on the average \$1.80 a day plus a ten per cent bonus for those who worked at least 23 days in a month, but this statement of average conceals the differences as between various men. Many men get about \$1.50 a day. Those who are paid the lowest time wages get a dollar a day plus ten per cent if they work at least 23 days. This would give a man \$28.60 for a month of 26 days.

Doubtless a large proportion of the men receive daily wages that seem very low to people familiar with wage rates in mainland cities and in rural seasonal employment, but the writer believes that the economic welfare of plantation workers compares favorably with that of many workers on the mainland.

Among the advantages offsetting the higher money wages on the mainland are the following:

1. On the plantation there is no forced idleness. It is a part of the business of the manager so to organize the work that all the workers can have steady employment all the time.
2. There is no necessary expense for house, for fuel and water, or for medical care.
3. The expense for clothing is lighter under the climatic conditions of Hawaii.

4. The plantation stores sell the necessary foods and articles of clothing at a very small advance over wholesale prices. They earn much of their operating expenses on the luxuries.

5. Laborers can and do produce some of their fruits and vegetables in gardens furnished rent free. Some keep a little poultry.

Based on a considerable study of the migratory workers, who do so much of the mining, lumbering, construction, and agricultural work in the western half of the United States, the writer asserts confidently that the situation of these migratory workers is less favorable than that of the plantation workers in Hawaii. Plantation life conserves more fully the larger human and social interests of the workers. With less knowledge of the situation of workers in the great congested cities of the East where rents are high and where employment is seasonal and irregular, the writer thinks it probable that the balance of advantage lies with the workers of Hawaii as compared with most of the recent immigrants from Europe to American cities.

These favorable comparisons do not mean that the situation is perfectly satisfactory. Far from it. Nearly all of the workers are aspiring to something better for themselves or at least for their sons. They are not content in the sense that they wish to remain in their present position. And still, with much ambitious discontent, there is much happiness, much progress as measured by ordinary standards, and much courage to keep on trying. It would appear that the situation warrants a more favorable attitude of workers toward plantation opportunities and, doubtless, there would be a more favorable attitude if it were not for the way the whole situation is complicated by race. It is felt that plantation employment at common labor is a sign of inferiority, personal and social. To accept it as a permanent thing would be to admit inferiority and for a race group to become permanently identified with the cane field would be, in the minds of many, to accept a permanent status of inferiority for the race. Such discrimination as there is or has been along lines of race belongs to a time when men are keenly conscious of its implications.

## THE SITUATION AND THE PROBLEM

Agriculture is the basic occupation of Hawaii. There is no mining, scanty forestry, and only a small amount of fishing. More than half of the men of Hawaii, aside from those in army and navy service, are engaged in the production of sugar, pineapples, and a few minor crops, and the great majority of the rest are in secondary occupations directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. Manufacturing is confined almost wholly to the working up of agricultural products, to the making of tools, machines and materials needed by agriculture, and to supplying the wants of a population that is here on account of agriculture. Likewise commerce rests on agriculture. The situation has never been otherwise and there is no ground for expecting any fundamental change. Hawaii is and will be an agricultural region.

Agricultural production of the modern commercial type has had its development almost wholly in the last seventy-five years. Sugar cane growing had established itself as the leading industry in the period 1850-1875. After 1876 there was a very rapid development induced largely by the reciprocity treaty through which Hawaiian sugar received the benefit of the American sugar tariff. In the last twenty-five years there has been very small extension of the area in sugar cane and practically no increase in the quantity of labor required, the increase in production being due almost wholly to technical progress. But this recent period has witnessed the whole development of pineapple production which now ranks as an important industry.

The following tables throw light on the general economic development of Hawaii so far as occupational opportunities are concerned.

POPULATION OF HAWAII AND NUMBER OF MALES OVER 10 YEARS  
OF AGE IN CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS FOR 1900, 1910, AND 1920<sup>1</sup>  
MEN IN MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE EXCLUDED

	1900	1910	1920	Gain or Loss 1900-1920
Population .....	153,756	190,301	251,546	97,790
Males over 18 years old....	84,891	88,687	94,299	9,408
In all occupations.....	84,047	88,315	93,253	9,206
On sugar cane farms.....	32,760 <sup>2</sup>	35,728	36,535	3,775
On other farms.....	20,620	14,023	12,014	-8,606
Agricultural .....	53,380	49,751	48,549	-4,831
Manufacture .....	7,391	13,835	17,137	9,746
Transportation .....		5,915	7,628	
Trade .....		5,113	6,635	
Professional Service .....		950	2,199	
Domestic Service.....	22,183	5,198	5,047	3,935
Public Service.....		1,025	1,896	
Clerical .....		1,472	2,713	
All other .....	1,093	5,056	1,449	356
Total.....	84,047	88,315	93,253	9,206

<sup>1</sup>On account of lack of uniformity in census classifications, the figures for the various census years are not always comparable with each other. In a few cases estimates are made on the basis of census data and data of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. In cases where the data for close estimates were wanting, and where the census figures are misleading, they are omitted. In every case fishermen are placed in "All other."

<sup>2</sup>Estimate.

POPULATION OF HONOLULU AND NUMBER OF MALES OVER 10 YEARS  
OF AGE IN CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS FOR 1900, 1910, AND 1920  
MEN IN MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE EXCLUDED

	1900	1910	1920	Gain or Loss 1900-1920
Population .....	39,062	51,113	80,815	41,753
Males over 18 years old....	17,718	20,228 <sup>1</sup>	27,601	9,883
In all occupations.....	17,715	19,962	26,258	8,543
Agricultural .....	1,770	1,964	1,574	-196 <sup>1</sup>
Manufacture .....	3,779	5,283	8,860	5,081
Transportation .....		2,362	4,026	
Trade .....		2,593	3,980	
Professional service.....		361	1,119	
Domestic service.....	11,827	3,601	3,275	3,468
Public service.....		589	1,052	
Clerical .....		959	1,843	
All other .....	339	2,250	529	190
Total.....	17,715	19,962	26,258	8,543

<sup>1</sup>Estimate.



POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII EXCLUSIVE OF  
HONOLULU AND THE NUMBER OF MALES OVER 10 YEARS  
OF AGE IN CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS  
MEN IN MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE EXCLUDED

	1900	1910	1920	Gain or Loss 1900-1920
Population .....	114,694	139,188	170,731	56,037
Males over 18 years old....	67,173 <sup>1</sup>	68,459 <sup>1</sup>	66,698	- 475
In all occupations.....	66,332	68,353	66,995	663
All agricultural .....	51,610	47,787	46,975	-4,635
Manufacture .....	3,612	8,552	8,277	4,665
Transportation .....		3,553	3,602	
Trade .....		2,520	2,655	
Professional service.....		589	1,080	
Domestic service.....	10,356	1,597	1,772	467
Public service.....		436	844	
Clerical .....		513	870	
All other .....	754	2,806	920	166
Total.....	66,332	68,353	66,995	663

<sup>1</sup> Estimate.

In all these tables the men in military and naval service were excluded because they do not constitute a part of the industrial population.

It will be observed that for all dates agriculture demands the services of the majority of the men, but that its demand has decreased since 1900, while there has been a considerable increase in the number of men in other occupations. While there has been some gain in the number of men employed in sugar production and while practically the whole development of pineapple production has taken place since 1900, the growing demands of these two major crops have been more than counterbalanced by a decrease in the number of men engaged in more primitive types of agriculture. The male population over 18 years of age in all Hawaii, outside of its chief city, has decreased in the twenty years—this in spite of the fact that there has been some increase in the city of Hilo and in some of the larger towns.

The chief occupational gain has been in manufacture. There has been considerable gain in trade and transportation and in clerical service, and a loss in domestic service.

Probably the present decade will show a considerable gain in the number of men employed in agriculture for five reasons:

1. Probably the more primitive sorts of agriculture were so far reduced in 1920 that little further reduction of men in such occupations may be expected.



2. There is a measureable increase in the number of men employed in pineapple production.
3. There is some increase in minor crop production.
4. There is an increase in sugar production.
5. Because of a change in the character of the sugar plantation personnel, it requires more men to do the same amount of work. A man does less work in a month.

The growth of occupational opportunity in Honolulu in this decade is even greater, and this is due to three leading factors:

1. The demand for increasing services to agriculture, such as the manufacture of machines, tools, and fertilizers, and merchandising and transportation.
2. The increase of demand for many sorts of service, including house construction work on account of the more nearly normal character of the population, i.e., more women and children.
3. Demands made by the presence of larger numbers of men in military and naval service, and by construction work for army and navy purposes.

A consideration of the causes of increase in the demand for labor in Honolulu in the last eight years leads to the inference that the increase in future years will be at a lower rate. There is no warrant for the view that the city's industrial development will be so great as to afford opportunity for all the young men of Hawaiian birth who may wish to come from the rural districts and also for the city's own youth.

Before 1876 the native Hawaiian men performed an important part of the work of sugar cane growing, but even then the Chinese were assisting in considerable measure. The important development following this date was accomplished mainly through the importation of laborers, first from China and Portugal (the Madeira Islands), and later from Japan. At various times laborers in small numbers were brought from several other countries, including Germany, Norway, Spain, Russia, the South Sea Islands, Porto Rico, and Korea. For the last twenty years chief dependence has been placed on the Philippines as a source of labor supply.

The population of the Territory in 1920 with classifications to show race, age, and citizenship is indicated by the following table:\*

AGE AND CITIZENSHIP IN 1920

	Native Born		Naturalized		Foreign Born Alien	
	Adults	Minors	Adults	Adults	Minors	
Hawaiian .....	13,762	9,961				
Caucasian-Hawaiian .....	3,970	7,102				
Asiatic-Hawaiian .....	1,881	5,074				
Portuguese .....	5,613	15,407	1,268	4,109	605	
Porto-Rican .....		2,997	2,418		187 <sup>a</sup>	
Spanish .....	97	919	87	737	590	
Other Caucasian <sup>1</sup> .....	7,357	3,968	2,121	1,902	500	
Chinese .....	2,974	9,368	331 <sup>a</sup>	10,574	260	
Japanese .....	2,322	46,264	291 <sup>a</sup>	56,332	4,065	
Korean .....	19	1,451	44 <sup>a</sup>	3,274	162	
Filipino .....		2,303	385 <sup>a</sup>	15,070 <sup>a</sup>	3,273 <sup>a</sup>	
Total .....	37,995	104,814	6,945	91,998	9,642	

<sup>a</sup>Excluding men in military and naval service.

<sup>b</sup>Naturalized under the monarchy and valid.

<sup>c</sup>Naturalized under special war act and later found not valid.

<sup>d</sup>If not foreign born, at least non-citizen born.

The importation of laborers from some source has been constant. At first this served to augment the number of workers, but for about a quarter century the incoming workers have served mainly to fill the places of those who have quit plantation labor. This movement away from plantations may be visualized as three streams: the first a stream moving from the plantations to other employment in Hawaii; the second, a stream directed toward the Pacific Coast of the United States; the third, a stream of men, with their wives and children in many instances, returning to the land of their nativity, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

In the case of the laborers brought from Portugal, Spain, and other Atlantic countries, it was the policy to bring whole families so that the number of women was, from the beginning, in nearly the normal proportion.

At first, relatively few women were brought from China, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines, but in the course of years the men from those regions secured wives in considerable numbers from their native lands. The Chinese, considering their long residence, were least successful in this on account of various legal restrictions, including the Chinese Exclusion Act, which has been operative since annexation to the United States. The Japanese were most successful. Before 1898 there were few Japanese

\*The Peoples of Hawaii, P. 16, 1925.

women. Immediately after annexation there was a marked increase in the number of women and this movement of men with their wives continued until 1907, the date of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." While this agreement did not apply to Hawaii in its terms, the Japanese Government, as a matter of policy, prohibited the coming of male laborers to Hawaii. At about the same time the movement of Japanese laborers from Hawaii to the mainland was prohibited by a presidential proclamation. These two measures had the effect of stabilizing the Japanese male population in Hawaii, and one result was that they sent to their native land for wives, so that by 1920 they were better supplied with wives than were the men of any other racial group.

Because of the fewness of women in Hawaii in the earlier years, there were few children relative to the adult male population. Twenty years ago the number of young men who reached their maturity in a year was not large enough to take the place of the men who died. But as the female population has increased the child population has increased also. As compared with American families of the old stock, the families in Hawaii are very large, being about equal to those of recent immigrants from Europe.

The fact that the juvenile population has been increasing both absolutely and relatively at a pretty rapid rate is one of outstanding importance. The problem of this study has its origin right here. It may be well, therefore, to submit a statistical statement through which the recent and prospective change in the situation will be more apparent. The reader will note the rapid increase in the numbers of men from 1878 to 1900 and the increase of women, mainly after 1900; also the low ratios of women and boys to men in 1900, and the movement toward normal ratios thereafter. It may be interesting to compare these ratios with the ratios for the Portuguese part of the population. The Portuguese have been in Hawaii so long that their ratios are nearly normal for a people of high birth rate under pretty good sanitary conditions.

POPULATION OF HAWAII FOR VARIOUS CENSUS DATES 1878 TO 1920  
WITH CLASSIFICATION OF AGE AND SEX

	ALL RACE GROUPS					Portuguese
	1878	1890	1900	1910	1920	1920
Population .....	57,985	89,990	154,001	191,909	255,912	27,002
Males .....	34,103	58,714	106,369	123,099	151,146	13,737
Females .....	23,882	31,276	47,632	68,810	104,766	13,265
Males over 18 yrs. ....	24,219	44,181	84,891	88,687	94,299	6,457
Females over 18 yrs. ....	15,200	17,391	28,544	37,800	54,688	6,086
Males 10-17 yrs. ....	3,681	5,497	7,798	10,992	17,503	2,689
Males under 10 yrs. ....	6,203	9,036	13,435	21,812	34,973	4,591

RATIO TO 1000 MALES OVER 18 YEARS OF AGE

	1878	1890	1900	1910	1920	Portuguese
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Males over 18 yrs. ....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Females over 18 yrs. ....	627	393	336	426	579	944
Males 10-17 yrs. ....	152	124	92	124	185	416
Males under 10 yrs. ....	256	204	158	246	371	710

<sup>1</sup>Soldiers and Sailors in U. S. Army and Navy excluded for 1900, 1910, and 1920 in the figures for males over 18 years old.

Broadly considered, the young people of all racial or national groups are concerned with this problem, but they do not all stand in the same situation. For example, the young men of native Hawaiian blood have been in a preferred position in relation to several sorts of employment. As the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Hawaii they enjoy some advantages. The English language is, for many, the mother tongue and they speak it more easily and correctly than do most others. They and their parents are citizens with full political rights in a population where most adults are non-citizens. They hold most public positions, official and clerical, and are employed largely in public or quasi-public enterprises, such as road building, and in the service of the public utility corporations. Bound to Hawaii by strong ties of sentiment, they will remain in Hawaii under any probable conditions, but they will meet increasingly keen competition from the sons of the immigrant groups. Such preference as they now enjoy is in jeopardy.

Portuguese young men as representatives of a European people enjoy some advantages. Certain important employers refuse to accept sons of Orientals, but employ sons of Portuguese freely. Labor union rules discriminate in favor of Portuguese as compared with Orientals. But Oriental men of enterprise are building up competing establishments and the outlook is for more nearly equal employment conditions. While few of the adult Portuguese immigrants were naturalized as citizens, being ineligible on account of illiteracy, the fact that their ineligibility was not on account of race has been of some political, civil, and

economic advantage to them and to their children. But such advantages do not appear to promise permanence.

The Chinese have been in Hawaii a long time. Most of them left plantation employment a generation ago and comparatively large numbers were able to establish themselves as independent farmers, gardeners, merchants, contractors, and skilled laborers. The position of the Chinese in the financial and business community is such that they can give a considerable number of their sons preferred opportunities.

It is practically true to say that all three of the above groups have quit plantation employment except for the preferred sorts of work.

The Japanese stand in a different position largely because of their more recent arrival. Over forty per cent of the men are in plantation service. Many who have left plantation service recently have failed to establish themselves in a favorable economic position. They are just holding on and are not in a position to give their sons much help. A few have won considerable success and, with time and opportunity, the general position of the group will be relatively improved. Moreover, it is the Japanese group that is furnishing the larger part of the new increment of Hawaiian born boys.

In 1910 there were only 2,319 boys of Japanese parentage who were 10-17 years of age and they constituted only 21 per cent of all boys of this age. By 1920 the number had increased to 7,175, or 41 per cent of all, and their percentage will be still higher by 1930, probably not less than 45 per cent.

From a certain point of view the problem can be conceived as resulting from the rapid increase in the number of boys and young men of this group and from the further fact that while the parents of large numbers are still in plantation employment, they are trying to improve the economic status of their children. From this direction comes the increasing pressure of competition for the better economic opportunities. Thousands of boys born on the plantations are rather suddenly appearing on the scene as active competitors for the preferred jobs. Moreover, their ability, industry, and character is such that many of them are pretty sure to win an improved status if they are given an even chance or even if they are placed under conditions of moderately adverse discrimination. This accentuates competition all along the line. Not only because of their comparatively large numbers but also because they are at just the present stage of progress toward an improved status, interest in the problem relates largely to this group.

The Hawaiian born children of Filipinos are, for the most part, young children and so do not enter into the picture prominently just at present; but if plantation labor continues to be done mainly by Filipinos, the occupational problems of their sons may come after ten or twenty years.

Young men of American and North European ancestry are in a favored position in Hawaii. Ordinarily their parents are in a position to give them the best educational opportunities and to help them to good economic opportunities. For certain positions they are preferred because of special qualifications: ability to speak and write English correctly, familiarity with the manners and customs of America, or just because of race. There is some reason to believe that actual leadership ability develops better among men of a race accustomed to leadership and conscious of race prestige. Of course, fathers in positions of influence favor their sons, but not more here than elsewhere. To a considerable extent the positions filled by these young men are not competitive so far as the men of other race or culture groups are concerned. To the extent that race discrimination lessens, the position of this group will be less favorable. If a considerable number of the protected positions were thrown open to men of all races on the basis of "an even race and may the best man win," it is probable that there would be a movement of some Caucasian boys to the mainland. It is through the maintenance of a considerable number of protected positions that the population of American and North European ancestry is maintained at the existing point—probably seventeen to eighteen thousand, exclusive of men and officers in military and naval service and their families.

MALES UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE IN 1920

	Number	Per cent of Total
Native Hawaiian.....	4,245	8.1
Caucasian-Hawaiian ....	3,251	6.2
Asiatic-Hawaiian ....	2,424	4.6
Portuguese ....	7,280	13.8
Porto Rican ....	1,530	2.9
Spanish ....	745	1.4
Other Caucasian ....	2,081	3.9
Chinese ....	4,389	8.3
Japanese ....	23,569	44.9
Korean ....	783	1.4
Filipino ....	2,047	3.9
All others .....	137	.1
Total.....	52,481	100.0

Statistics of high school attendance give some indication of the direction in which the ambition of the boys of various racial groups runs.

PUPILS ENROLLED IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOLS  
IN HAWAII, DECEMBER, 1926<sup>1</sup>

- Columns 1 and 4      Numbers enrolled.
- Columns 2 and 5      Percents of numbers enrolled to numbers of boys and girls 15-18 years of age in each race group.
- Columns 3 and 6      Percents of number of each race group enrolled to total number enrolled.

	BOYS			GIRLS		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hawaiian .....	85	10	2.6	64	8	2.7
Part-Hawaiian .....	482	43	15.1	476	47	20.6
Portuguese .....	213	15	6.7	220	15	9.5
Porto Rican .....	3	1	.1	9	2	.3
Spanish .....	9	7	.3	3	3	.1
Other Caucasian .....	360	56	11.3	314	49	13.1
Chinese .....	550	64	17.2	412	51	17.8
Japanese .....	1335	33	41.9	728	20	31.5
Korean .....	80	67	2.5	49	47	2.1
Filipino .....	37	12	1.1	9	4	.3
All other .....	27		.8	24		1.0
Total.....	3181		100.0	2308		100.0

<sup>1</sup>Pupils in the ninth grade in all public junior high schools are omitted, and the dates for the two private schools are September and October, 1926.

Another group of facts capable of statistical expression relates to turnover of plantation labor from the standpoint of the various race groups. In general, it may be said that the men of all racial groups tend to leave the plantation pretty steadily and, when importations cease, there is a constant reduction in numbers. For example, the Chinese on sugar cane plantations numbered 5,727 in 1888 and only 2,617 in 1892, importations having been suspended. Then through new arrivals their number increased to 8,114 in 1897 and through the cessation of immigration it fell to 3,937 in 1902. In 1926 there were only 1,242 Chinese employed on plantations and these were largely old men, many of whom are much like pensioners, or they were young men in superior positions. The Portuguese are only a little more numerous and most of those who remain have secured some of the more attractive positions—skilled and semi-skilled labor or clerical work. Very few are common field workers. The Japanese, who numbered 32,771 in 1908,

have only 11,550 adult males in sugar cane plantation service in 1926. Since 1907 the loss of workers of all other racial groups has been made good by Filipinos, who numbered in 1910, 2,269; in 1915, 8,549; in 1920, 13,061; and in 1926, 25,848 men.

PLANTATION LABORERS CLASSIFIED BY RACE  
AT THREE SELECTED DATES\*

	1886	1908	1926
Native Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian.....	2,255	1,309	445
Portuguese .....	3,081	3,807	1,341
Porto Rican .....		1,989	1,073
Spanish .....		750	70
Other Caucasian .....	379	970	62 <sup>1</sup>
Chinese .....	5,626	2,916	1,242
Japanese .....	1,949	32,771	13,603 <sup>2</sup>
Korean .....		2,125	741
Filipino .....		141	25,848
All others .....	1,249	140	1,631 <sup>3</sup>
Total.....	14,529	46,918	46,056 <sup>4</sup>

\*In "Peoples of Hawaii," pages 26-27, may be found a table showing the number of plantation laborers, by race, for nearly all years since 1882.

<sup>1</sup>Incomplete.

<sup>2</sup>Includes 11,550 men and 2,053 women.

<sup>3</sup>Includes 1,076 children, mainly Japanese.

<sup>4</sup>It may be of interest to note that sugar production has increased more rapidly than laborers. In 1886 the production per man was 7.3 tons, in 1898, 11.1 tons, and in 1926, 17 tons per man employed.

An inference from the above figures is that few of the Hawaiian born or Hawaiian educated sons of plantation workers of any racial group have remained in field work on sugar cane plantations after they have reached manhood. Observation shows that those who have remained in plantation service are not commonly found in field labor. They are mechanics, skilled or semi-skilled workmen or lunas (foremen) who receive higher wages, have easier work, and enjoy a better social status.

There are no comparable statistics of labor on pineapple plantations. Pineapple farming is largely a seasonal matter. The employment is three or four times as high in July as in January, the month of the 1920 census. In general it may be said that the total annual demand for unskilled labor in pineapple growing and canning was, in 1920, about one-tenth as great as the total demand of the sugar industry, and about one-seventh as great in 1926. The heavy harvest demand in June, July, and August is supplied mainly in three ways:

1. Many high school and older grammar grade children and also college students find employment in the pineapple field or in the cannery during the summer vacation.
2. Irregular and casual city workers work in the canneries.



3. Some sugar cane plantation laborers are released for work in the pineapple fields.

The proportion of skilled to unskilled labor is higher in the pineapple industry than in sugar production. This results in superior opportunities for advancement to better positions, and the policy of the pineapple plantations in relation to promotions appears to be more favorable to the racial groups that do most of the work. As a consequence a relatively larger number of young men of Hawaiian birth accept employment. But here, too, the work is done mainly by foreign born Japanese and Filipino men.

To a measureable extent pineapples are grown by small leaseholders and it might appear that here is the beginning of a system of small independent farming. But the growing of pineapples is a difficult procedure calling for relatively large capital outlay per acre, and the best technical skill assisted by scientific research. For the most part the small farmers have not been able to measure up to the requirements of the situation. In many cases they have been unfortunate in the land they have cultivated. The desire for independence leads Japanese men to try their luck on land not well adapted for the purpose. Partly on account of the poor land and partly because of mismanagement, a considerable number of these small pineapple farms have been abandoned and, doubtless, the same fate awaits others. Possibly the advantages of independence are more than counterbalanced by inefficiency in production.

Among the minor agricultural interests of Hawaii, coffee growing is most interesting from the point of view of this study. Most of the coffee is grown in a single district remote from the important cane and pineapple districts. More than a thousand men are employed. Much of the land is operated on a small leasehold basis. Nearly all of the coffee growers are Japanese.<sup>1</sup> This gives the workers—the farmers—a relatively independent position although this independence is somewhat qualified by their lack of capital, which necessitates a store credit system. The writer has seen figures which indicate that over a period of years the coffee farmers have not received as large incomes as they could have received as plantation employes. And yet they stick to it. The hope for better years and the appreciation of independence are sufficient to induce them to stick to the farms that do not pay ordinary wages.

<sup>1</sup>In 1920 there were 624 coffee growers and 524 coffee farm laborers. Of these numbers there were 524 Japanese coffee farmers and 402 Japanese coffee farm laborers.

## THE PROBLEM STATED

Will the boys of Hawaii accept or secure employment in Hawaii pretty generally or will large numbers find it necessary or desirable to emigrate? Or, stated from the point of view of employers, will the needed agricultural and other common labor of Hawaii be supplied by her native sons or will a continued importation of Filipinos or other foreign born laborers be necessary? These questions are pertinent in relation to the near future because, for the first time since the beginning of modern commercial agriculture in Hawaii, the number of boys bids fair to be large enough to do the work.

Before 1900 it was necessary to import laborers if the development of the resources of the Islands was to go on vigorously. Only by a large increase in the number of workers could this be done. There were 24,219 men in 1878 and 84,891 in 1900, a gain of 60,672. From 1900 to 1910 it was necessary to bring laborers to take the place of those who left the Territory and to make good the excess of deaths over the number of boys reaching maturity. This excess of deaths was due to the fact that there were few boys, not to an especially high death rate. There was a small net gain in the number of men during this decade. (See table, page 12). During the following decade, 1910-1920, maturities probably equalled deaths and the importation of workers served mainly to balance emigration. There was a small net gain in numbers.

During the present decade the male maturities are more than sufficient to supply the places of those who die. The excess of maturities in the decade will be about five thousand. The new arrivals from the Philippines serve to cover the loss by emigration and have provided for a further gain of about sixteen thousand in seven years. Probably there are about twenty thousand more men in Hawaii than there were in 1920. This gain of twenty thousand in seven years may be compared with the gain of 9,408 in the preceding twenty years.

The present outlook is that the number of boys who will reach maturity during 1930-1940 will be largely in excess of the adult male deaths, that is, the boys who reach working age will be sufficiently numerous to fill the places of all who die and also to take the places of most of those adult aliens who emigrate, unless the native born themselves emigrate. If the importation of laborers is gradually reduced and then stopped, the emigration will diminish also, for it is the newly arrived who leave most readily. In recent years the Filipinos have been leaving annually in much larger numbers than have the members of any

other racial group. Here, then, for the first time there appears to be in prospect a situation in which it will be possible to reduce the importation of workers, later to stop it altogether, and to operate the industries of the Territory increasingly with native labor without reducing production. Indeed, if one looks a little farther into the future, a very great growth of industry will be possible on the basis of native labor, provided all or nearly all of the boys born in Hawaii elect to remain. But *will* they remain? This is the problem.

So far the statement of the problem is almost wholly in mathematical terms. But it is full of all sorts of human interest. The emigration of four or five thousand young men and women from Hawaii to the mainland would be for America a very minor matter in comparison with the numbers who come annually from Europe or from Canada and Mexico. But from the standpoint of the young people it is a serious matter. Family ties are strong in Hawaii. And then there is much real sentiment for Hawaii. Also there is fear of mainland race prejudice. Probably the great majority of the boys of Hawaii would prefer to remain in the Islands if they could secure economic opportunities somewhat superior to those of their parents. They have an exaggerated notion of the opportunity and status of the ordinary white man in America, but they would accept something inferior to this in order to remain with their parents in Hawaii.

Their education is, in general, the education of America. It presupposes the American opportunity. The children respond to the teachings much as do children on the Mainland, only there is more enthusiasm for our old American ideals—liberty, democracy, political and civil equality, even-handed justice, and economic opportunity for all. They like to make speeches and to write rhetorically on such themes. In general, their education is preparing them not for the common labor of Hawaii and not for the kind of work most will find if they go to the Mainland. It is not mainly a matter of knowledge or skill, but of attitude and expectation. Nearly all are looking forward to the upper third of the places.

From the standpoint of agriculture in Hawaii, the continuous emigration of native sons accompanied by the continuous importation of foreign born laborers implies the continuation of a type of industrial organization adapted to such conditions. Probably this involves a lower degree of labor efficiency and a retardation of technical development.

From a general social standpoint, the question as to whether Hawaii is to be American is involved. If a large part of the youth who have received an American education and who speak

the language of America emigrate to make way for a continuous stream of foreign born men large enough to serve the fundamental industries, it is hard to see how progress will be made. Unless the people of a region can speak a common language and unless they share the same traditions, ideals, and social standards, it is hard for the better impulses of men to express themselves. There is pretty sure to be more harshness and injustice than is intended and even kindly purposes sometimes work out to an undesired result.

From many points of view there are reasons for desiring that the industries of Hawaii shall be carried on more and more through the labor of her native sons. Economic, educational, political, ethical, and religious interests are involved. And still it is not certain that such an outcome lies among the possibilities of the situation. The forces dominant in any situation are not largely a matter of choice. They come out of the historic past. In succeeding chapters there will be an effort to weigh some of these forces.

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE BOYS AND  
YOUNG MEN OF HAWAII TOWARD  
OCCUPATIONAL INTERESTS

It is frequently said in Hawaii that most of the sons of common laborers are aspiring to white collar jobs. While the statement points in the general direction of the truth, it is somewhat inaccurate and misleading. On the basis of more than two thousand answers to questionnaires submitted to boys in the grammar grades and high schools of the Territory, and in several of the Japanese language schools, and of numerous interviews with the boys and their parents, it may be stated that the boys pretty generally are aiming at an economic status superior to that of the common unskilled plantation laborer. In the rural districts the intention of grammar grade boys is mainly in the direction of occupations calling for manual skill, such as carpentry, painting, automobile repair work, and the work of electrician and machinist. A minority expect to be bookkeepers, salesmen, engineers, teachers, preachers, doctors, and lawyers. The high school boys, who constitute a more select group, naturally show a higher preference for the professions. The intention not to be plantation laborers is all but unanimous, but some plan to be farmers. Were the opportunity for small, independent farming better, it is certain that rather large numbers would be attracted in this direction.

7 A questionnaire was submitted to the seventh and eighth grade boys in eighteen rural schools, representing all counties, and to four rural high schools. Among the questions was: "What kind of work do you think you will do when you are a man?" They were asked also to give the reason for their choices. A few answers were thrown out for defect. The answers counted were, for the seventh and eighth grades, 858, and for the four high schools, 475. The following tables show the racial constitution of the schools, the numbers of boys who chose each of the several classes of occupations, and their reasons for such choices.

**BOYS AND GIRLS ENROLLED IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH  
GRADES OF SEVENTEEN RURAL SCHOOLS REPRESENTING  
PLANTATION DISTRICTS IN ALL COUNTIES AND ONE NON-  
PLANTATION RURAL DISTRICT, KONA-WAENA.  
CLASSIFIED BY RACE DECEMBER, 1926**

	Number Enrolled The Seventeen Schools	Kona- waena School	Per cent Distribution The Seventeen Schools	Kona- waena School
Hawaiian .....	25	26	1.7	10.9
Part-Hawaiian .....	108	27	7.4	11.3
Portuguese .....	110	10	7.6	4.2
Porto Rican .....	6		.4	
Other Caucasian .....	52	2	3.6	
Chinese .....	46	2	3.1	.8
Japanese .....	1024	166	70.9	70.0
Korean .....	21	1	1.4	.4
Filipino .....	33	4	2.2	1.6
All other .....	19	1	1.3	.4
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1444</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>100.</b>	<b>100.</b>

**BOYS ENROLLED IN FOUR RURAL HIGH SCHOOLS  
CLASSIFIED BY RACE DECEMBER, 1926**

	Kauai High School	Maui High School	Lahainaluna Technical High School	Kona- waena High School	Total
Hawaiian .....	2	5	8	4	19
Part-Hawaiian .....	10	16	33	3	62
Portuguese .....	19	7	3	1	30
Spanish .....	1	1			2
Other Caucasian .....	11	20	7		38
Chinese .....	9	14	17		40
Japanese .....	130	145	77	51	403
Korean .....	1	4	1	1	7
Filipino .....	7		3		10
All others .....	2	1	2		5
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>616</b>

The answers were grouped into nine classes as given below. The following table shows the number who chose each type of occupation and the per cent distribution:

## SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES

	Seventeen Plantation Schools		Kona-waena School	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Skilled labor .....	365	49.5	49	40.5
Engineering .....	59	8.0	9	7.5
Other professional .....	81	10.9	20	16.5
Farming .....	60	8.1	21	17.3
Commercial .....	91	12.3	10	8.2
Sailors .....	22	2.9	3	2.4
Laborers .....	13	1.7	2	1.6
Others .....	46	6.2	7	5.7
Total.....	737	100.	121	100.

## HIGH SCHOOLS

	Kauai High School	Maui High School	Lahaina-luna Technical High School	Kona- waena High School	Total
Skilled labor .....	34	40	55	13	142
Engineering .....	19	11	6	7	43
Other professional .....	47	27	30	19	123
Farming .....	7	16	17	22	62
Commercial .....	27	36	17	7	87
Sailors .....	2		1		3
Laborers .....	1				1
All other .....	2	6	4	2	14
Total.....	139	136	130	70	475

## PER CENT OF BOYS CHOOSING EACH CLASS OF OCCUPATION

	Kauai High School	Maui High School	Lahaina-luna Technical High School	Kona- waena High School	Total
Skilled labor .....	24.4	29.4	42.3	18.5	29.8
Engineering .....	13.6	8.0	4.6	10.0	9.0
Other professional .....	33.9	19.8	23.0	27.1	25.8
Farming .....	5.0	11.7	13.0	31.4	13.0
Commercial .....	19.4	26.5	13.0	10.0	18.3
Sailors .....	1.4		.7		.6
Laborers .....	.7				.2
All others .....	1.4	4.4	3.0	2.8	2.9
Total.....	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.

NUMBERS OF SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADE BOYS ASSIGNING  
CERTAIN TYPES OF REASON FOR THEIR CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

1. Indefinite—"It is a good job." "I like it."	
"It is interesting.".....	255
2. Good wages or income.....	157
3. Good opportunity to get employment.....	82
4. Altruistic motive .....	62
5. Easy work .....	52
6. Good from the standpoint of health.....	50
7. Possession of requisite ability.....	48
8. Desire to travel and see world.....	27
9. Good opportunity to learn trade.....	21
10. Desire to follow occupation of father or brother.....	16

NUMBERS OF BOYS IN FOUR RURAL HIGH SCHOOLS  
ASSIGNING REASON FOR THEIR CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

1. Indefinite ....	227
2. Good opportunity to get employment.....	54
3. Possession of requisite ability.....	38
4. Altruistic motive .....	30
5. Good wages or income.....	25
6. Opportunity to learn trade.....	24
7. Health ....	14
8. Independence and social position.....	9
9. To see world.....	7

The choice and the reasons assigned by grammar grade boys show a considerable degree of thoughtfulness for boys 13 to 15 years of age. Evidently they are thinking seriously about their future. Attention is called to some features of the replies.

There is a tendency for the attitude of the boys to respond to the practical conditions. For example, nearly one-third of the boys in the Kona-waena High School and more than a sixth of those in the grammar grades of the same school chose farming—a very high ratio as compared with most of the other schools. Doubtless this difference in attitude is explained by the fact that a large number of the Kona-waena boys are sons of small leaseholding coffee farmers. In a few other districts in which there are considerable numbers of small pineapple growers or other farmers there is a similar tendency to choose farming. In several cases the reason seemed to show the influence of school propaganda. They chose "Agriculture" for the sake of the "outdoor life" and the "fresh air." Others said that their folks owned some land or that they liked farming because of the "independence," or "so I can be my own boss."



In the case of the grammar school boys, skilled labor comes first, almost half of the boys choosing some skilled trade. In the high schools about thirty per cent made similar choices. These are not white collar jobs but they are better wage jobs and there is better social status—more independence. The kind of skilled labor chosen is as significant as the number choosing it. On the sugar cane plantation there is a considerable number of skilled and semi-skilled jobs of a sort that relate particularly to sugar production—jobs that are pretty good from the standpoint of income, but which exist only on the plantation. Other trades such as that of carpenter, machinist, electrician and automobile repair work are represented on the plantations and also in other places. With not more than two or three exceptions the boys chose the trades which present the wider opportunities. A considerable number gave as a reason, "One can get a job anywhere." There is a pretty general feeling among the boys of the most numerous race group on the plantations that they have little chance to get the better plantation jobs and apparently they propose to prepare for the work with the best opportunity.

Engineering is the most popular profession and after that comes teaching. Considerable numbers plan to be dentists, scientists, and artists. Some gave a highly altruistic reason, the desire to serve humanity or some section of it, while others based their choice on their belief that they possessed the requisite ability. As might be expected, the professions were more popular with high school boys than with those in the grammar grades. Certain answers given by only one boy or at most by only a few are significant because they indicate more reflection and power of expression. Perhaps these few voice a rather general feeling. One boy who plans to be a teacher writes, "When my father came from Japan he was handicapped in his work. I intend to go to school to get an education, to lead a better life, and to live up to the ideal of an American." Several made their choice on the ground that there is opportunity for advancement. A few referred to social status or some evidence of social status, such as "opportunity to join clubs." "Clean work" appealed to some.

Some who expected to follow the humbler callings gave reasons relating to their lack of ability or opportunity: "Can't do brain work." "Can't go to high school, my parents are too poor." "Easy work; does not require too much brain." "Everyone cannot get a clean job." "Only work I can do." "Being an alien, I shall have to be a farmer."

Some of the choices and reasons that are not very important to the main purpose of the study are of value as tending to show that the questions secured a normal response. For example,

most of those who plan to be sailors live in places where ships are frequently seen. Lahaina, where ships are constantly in sight of homes and school, has nine prospective sailors and Ōlāa, an inland place, none. Most of the sailors want to "see the world."

Five or six want to be, not detectives, but "United States secret service agents" because they would be "very useful to the government."

Some gave their reasons for avoiding plantation work. "You do not have to work in the fields for long hours" (plans to be a teacher); "Better than working in the hot sun;" "Not strong enough to work in fields;" "Can stay indoors rain or shine" (a storekeeper).

Another question proposed to the boys in grammar schools was: "Do you intend to go to high school; what is your reason?"

Of 860 grammar grade boys who replied to this question 679, or 88 per cent, replied that they expected to go to high school, and the leading reasons were as follows:

1. In order to get a better job.....	325
2. To get an education.....	213
3. To get an easy job.....	15
4. To be a good citizen.....	14
5. Answers expressing a desire for superior social status, such as "To be a gentleman," "to be well known," "to be a great man," "to be an up-to-date man," "to have more friends," "to join better clubs," "not to be ashamed".....	14
6. Because parents desire it.....	11
7. "So I will not have to work in the fields".....	7

Of the 181 who replied that they did not intend to go to high school, the great majority, 118, gave as a reason their lack of financial ability or the necessity of helping their parents by working. Certain other answers given by small numbers are significant. Sixteen said that their school grades were not high enough or that they lacked ability. Thirteen want to learn a trade for which a high school education is not necessary. Two say that it is hard for high school graduates to find jobs and two are going to Japan.

Similarly the boys in the four rural high schools, and also in two junior high schools were asked whether they intended to go to college.

Of the 568 who replied 367, or nearly 65 per cent, said that they intended to go to college. Their reasons were, in general, quite similar to those of the grammar grade boys. A racial classification of the answers for one of the high schools was made, with results as follows:

PER CENT OF HIGH SCHOOL BOYS IN KAUAI  
HIGH SCHOOL WHO INTEND TO GO TO COLLEGE

Hawaiian .....	75
Part-Hawaiian .....	50
Portuguese .....	50
Other Caucasian .....	69
Chinese .....	56
Japanese .....	58

It is not to be presumed that all the grammar grade boys who intend to go to high school will actually do so and the same observation may be made relative to the college attendance of boys now in high school. Past records do not indicate so high a percentage of attendance in high school and college. There are several things that come between the intention and its fulfillment. A good many cannot go on for lack of scholarship. Others are unwilling or unable to confront the financial obstacles and some need to work to help support aged or infirm parents.

But it is a striking fact that so many do intend to go on with their education. Moreover the rapid increase in high school and college attendance in recent years shows that very considerable numbers do carry out their intentions. Many of the boys do this at considerable sacrifice on the part of their parents, and the boys commonly earn all or a considerable part of the money required for clothing, books and other personal expenses aside from room and food.

Why are the parents willing to make such sacrifices? Because they believe that through education the social and economic status of the family will be improved. This appears measureably in the replies given by the school boys, but much more in the conversation of their parents. It must be remembered that the peoples of the Orient are keenly conscious of social ranking. They came to Hawaii specifically to improve their economic position. Some have done this and others are doing it; but, for most, the improvement has been less than they had hoped for. Those who have reached or passed middle life with little advancement are now transferring their hopes to their sons. Doubtless if Hawaii, like the United States of sixty years ago, had plenty of unoccupied good land, these men would seek to improve their status by securing and operating farms. But

since this type of opportunity is closed, they turn to education. To them education is not a mere accomplishment for a life of elegant leisure. It is regarded as the best means of improving the social status of the family.

A question frequently asked is: "Will not the boys of Oriental ancestry find their best opportunity by returning to the land of their ancestors?" The answer is: "Yes, for a certain number, but not for the majority."

Each year witnesses the return to Japan, for permanent residence, of some hundreds of men of Japanese birth, about 8800 in the twenty years since the date of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Many of these men were married and fathers of children. Of course they took the younger children with them, but children, especially boys old enough to shift for themselves, frequently remain in Hawaii. Thousands of other Japanese, the great majority of them, in fact, would like to return to make their home in their native land. But they have figured out that in order to go back and establish themselves in a fairly satisfactory way they would need about \$5,000. They do not like to go without this amount unless, perchance, they inherit some property in Japan.

In answer to the main question, it may be said that children who are taken to Japan by their parents before they have completed their schooling and under favorable financial conditions will probably find it possible to make the necessary adjustments to conditions in Japan and to get on fairly well, always remembering that Japan is very densely populated and that competition for opportunities is very active.

But young men who have completed their education in Hawaii would find it hard to make the necessary social adjustments. Their knowledge of the Japanese language is insufficient and they do not like the manners and customs of Japan. They are more American than Japanese in culture. If they would endure the process of acquiring Japanese culture, they would have the advantage of living where there would be no adverse race discrimination. But most of them are deterred by two things. They believe that the American manners and customs are better and they recognize that Japan is a country in which it is hard to make a living according to the standard they have come to think necessary.

In order to ascertain the views of school boys toward a possible return to Japan, those in several Japanese language schools were asked: "When your parents return to Japan, will you stay in Hawaii or go to Japan with your parents?" Several

hundred children 12 to 15 years of age answered the question and gave their reasons as follows:

Would go to Japan with parents.....	294
Would remain in Hawaii.....	214

The reasons most frequently given for going to Japan were: "To be with parents;" "To see our grandparents;" "To see Japan." A few said: "Will inherit property in Japan;" "Japan is a beautiful place;" "I am a Japanese."

A greater variety of reasons was given by those who thought that they would remain in Hawaii. Prominent among them were: "I was born in Hawaii;" "I am a citizen of Hawaii;" "My friends are in Hawaii;" "I am accustomed to American style;" "I am not used to Japan, can't talk good Japanese;" "Japan is overcrowded;" "Easier to earn money in Hawaii;" "Not educated for Japan;" "There is no better place than Hawaii."

When one considers the ages of the children giving these answers, the fact that a majority say that they would go to Japan if their parents did is not so significant as the fact that a large minority think they would remain in Hawaii even if their parents were to go. The choices are the more significant because of the reasons assigned.

Further to determine the attitude of children relative to place of future residence two questions, as follows, were proposed to the children in Japanese language schools:

"What kind of country do you think the United States is?" "What kind of country do you think Japan is?" It was expected that the answers given would relate to economic opportunity. Considerable numbers replied to the effect that the United States is a "rich country," a country in which you can easily make a living. Concerning Japan they said: "A small and poor country;" "A populous country." Apparently the children are pretty well aware of the difference between economic opportunity in America and in Japan.

There is a small movement of Chinese to China, but it consists mainly of old unmarried men returning to their old homes. There is no net loss of children, i.e., excess of departures over arrivals. A few young men go to China, but it is difficult for them to make the adjustment. They are, as a rule, conservative in their viewpoints and hence out of harmony with young China. It is said that the Chinese people do not like to see men with Chinese features acting like Americans. Perhaps

a few Hawaiian boys of Chinese ancestry, who possess some special skill needed in China, would find good economic opportunities, but for the rank and file China has small opportunity. The Chinese are pretty well established in Hawaii and if opportunities are fair, most of the young people will remain. Some will go to the mainland.

The views and attitudes of high school and college students are apparent in their life histories.

The following excerpt is from a paper written by a high school boy:<sup>1</sup>

"My parents always told me to study hard and become a great man and not a cane field laborer, who has to go to work early in the morning, rain or sun, and work to late in the evening. They even said that they would buy anything for me if it was related to school.....Agricultural education is given little attention by me, as I am preparing for carpentry."

From the paper of a university student the following excerpts are taken.<sup>1</sup> He is of samurai ancestry and possesses more than average ability. He has taken the measure of his white competitors and feels that he can win if he has an even chance. (Probably he can win even with a handicap.) On the whole his attitude is friendly and confident.

"As I am working my way through school, I often have to sacrifice my personal desires. I feel this stronger than ever when the football season rolls along. While others are rooting their heads off on the bleachers I am on duty.....The teachings of my parents and the training which I received at the Japanese school have helped me to put duty before personal interests."

"My parents have always been interested in my education .....When I told them of my desire to take up post-graduate work at some mainland institution they assured me that they would give me all the financial support I would want. When father said he would even sell his property in Japan, if necessary, I was very thankful and I felt a lump in my throat and my eyes became misty."

....."English school teachers exerted the greatest influence in shaping my attitudes. Some of the early grammar school teachers and some in the high school were very broadminded. ....Next to the teachers I was influenced by the business men with whom I came in contact.....it takes a man to trust another but it also takes a man to live up to the trust placed in him."

"I have made numerous friendships with Haoles (white people).....I went to their socials and parties and was given every bit of attention as their friend.....The more we get together the more we understand each other and the result is harmony.....Looking backward through the years I've asso-

<sup>1</sup>Collection of Dr. W. C. Smith.

ciated with the Haoles, those who bore enmity toward me were usually those who themselves were not given all the opportunities of life which other Haoles enjoyed. It was the haoles of the common laboring class who were keenly feeling the aggressive advancement of Orientals. . . . Those coming from a highly cultured family rarely made such raw exhibition of foolishness.

"Through my constant contact with a great number of people of various language groups, I have come to the conclusion that we can't take any one group and say that it is superior to the rest. Each has its merits and faults. Each has its good representatives as well as bad ones. . . . Having such an opinion concerning racial equality, I am very much upset when I see certain persons discriminated against for racial reasons.

"I have fully considered the difficulties I am to meet when I get out of school and rub elbows with other nationalities. As far as intellect is concerned I do not think that I am inferior to the white or any other race and I am sure that the employers will always pick the men from the standpoint of efficiency. When I find myself in a situation applying for a job which has a white applicant, should we be of approximately the same efficiency, I would not begrudge the white employer giving the work to the white applicant. This is logical. . . . However, if he should give the work to a less competent white applicant I should look upon it as racial discrimination, entirely un-American, and the basis for racial troubles."

"I think I shall make my home in Hawaii, where all my friends are, but should I discover that there is no future here, I may go either to South America or to Japan."

Another young man, whose home is on a plantation but who has been in Honolulu several years for schooling, writes in a somewhat different way. It was only after being away from home a while that he began to reflect on plantation life. Excerpts are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"As years passed by I came to understand the world. I came to understand the financial standing of my family. It was not easy for my parents to send me to school. My loyalty to them increased and since then I started writing weekly letters to my parents. One summer I was awakened to the fact that the plantation was not treating the laborers right. This condition had been existing ever since I was born, but I remained ignorant of it."

"First, I felt that the laborers were greatly underpaid. Only \$1.00 for ten hours of toil.<sup>2</sup> Even at that, the conditions would be different if the plantation provided some method of recreation in the camps. But no. All that the plantation expects is work, work and work. I felt that the laborers and I were being treated like animals. My loyalty toward my group was aroused. I felt that I must work for them. Today I often hear the "back to the field" arguments but let me tell you that it is all bunkum. Before anybody could expect the younger generation to work in the fields the plantation has to realize that the laborers are human beings and that the \$1.00 a day should be increased to a reasonable amount."

<sup>1</sup>Collection of Dr. W. C. Smith.

<sup>2</sup>This is the "basic rate." Actually the wages are in excess of this.



"I was awakened to the existing racial discrimination. I found that all the Scotch people, whether they know about sugar cane or not, get good jobs on the plantations and are well paid. The dirty work was left to the Japanese, Filipino, and other laborers. The Scotch seem to think that they are superior and whenever an opportunity permits it they show it."

"Lastly I found out that my father was no exception. He has worked for the plantation for 35 years and was greatly underpaid.....I felt bad, and an incident which took place shortly after made me decide to fight for righteousness and to work for my people. One evening my father returned very late from work. He explained that he was fluming some sugar cane which was left undone by the workmen. Long experience had taught him that this particular sugar cane had to be flumed that day; otherwise it would be spoiled. I argued that it was unnecessary, for the plantation is not treating the workmen as it should. 'A tooth for a tooth, and an eye for an eye.' He simply said that he hated to see the sugar cane go to waste. I was unable to reply for I could not understand why the plantation could be so blind as not to see such a wonderful spirit of cooperation, for I dare say that my father's attitude is typical of the Japanese workmen."

"That year I went back to school with the determination that I would fight for my people. Since then I began to like the English school. I went through the high school and the university. I am now staying with my parents (vacation time). ....I am planning to take up medicine, for I believe that I can render the greatest service to my people as a doctor."

It is not to be expected that school boys will discuss their ambitions in terms of social status, but there is much evidence that ambition for a social status superior to that of their parents is a very prominent factor in their attitudes. The occupational preferences as expressed by grammar and high school students are in the direction of superior social status. Even more is this indicated by keen competition for the jobs of superior status after school work is completed. Moreover it is not merely the personal attitudes of the boys. If a boy shows any tendency to give up the quest for a better job and accept the job that is always open, field labor, his parents and friends express their disappointment in no uncertain terms. His father tells him that since he has an education he must accomplish something that will honor and help the family. To take a field labor job is to confess failure. The Japanese parents tell their boys that they must be "Erai hito" (great men, that is, upper class men).

This attitude of parents, particularly Japanese parents, is illustrated by the case of a Japanese cook in one of the rural districts of the Territory. The cook had a job in which the work was easy, the food good and abundant, the living quarters comfortable, sanitary, and in a region full of natural beauty. His income was sufficient to the needs of his family. He was



sending his boy to high school. The employer, learning from the school principal that the boy did not possess much ability of the sort needed in high school, suggested to the father that the boy be taken from school and put to work. The father's reply was, in effect, "No, I will not take my boy from high school. He is a bright boy. I will make a superior man of him. I would rather have him die than lead the kind of life I have lead." To an outsider about the only things that the father seemed to lack were the things associated with superior status. He felt that his job made him a menial.

This attitude of the Japanese towards social status comes largely from old Japanese traditions, but the particular manifestations of the attitude are influenced much by practical conditions of life in Hawaii.

Until recently Japan has been a feudal country and the people are highly sensitive to difference of social rank. Family bonds in Japan are very strong. Perhaps many of those who broke family ties in order to come to Hawaii were more than ordinarily ambitious. Among them were some of the sons of the old samurai who came to retrieve the family fortune. The wages paid in Hawaii seemed high to people accustomed to low wages and low prices. Probably these men were not so much concerned with the achievement of equality in a democratic society as with the hope of securing a position of superior rank in an aristocracy.

Of course most of them came with the intention of returning after a few years and many, perhaps a third, have returned and others will return. Most of those who remain do so because they have not saved enough to establish themselves comfortably in Japan, or because, having remained so long, they are bound to Hawaii by their children and grandchildren. At the same time they have undergone certain unperceived changes on account of the environmental conditions of Hawaii so that on visiting the old country they find that they do not like it—it is not the land which it had seemed to be as they remembered and idealized it.

After men have reached middle age—most of the Japanese immigrant men have passed that point—their ambitions center more on their children. Many of them recognize that they have failed personally to win what they hoped for when they came to Hawaii, and now they are transferring the hopes to their children. The fact that a considerable number of the sons who have reached manhood hitherto, before the numbers were so large, have secured preferred opportunities, serves to sustain the hope. Hence the willingness of parents of large families

to make sacrifices in order to give their children an education. For a boy with an American education to accept the status of most of the parents is, therefore, regarded as a confession of failure. Unless one comprehends the strength of this feeling among the immigrants, he will fail to understand the behavior of their children.

In one way the schools help to maintain parental hopes that, for many, cannot be realized. In the Japanese school system there are two points where there is a pretty rigid selective procedure on the basis of ability. At the end of the sixth year in school, children are admitted to what Americans would call a college preparatory high school on the basis of intellectual tests, only the best being admitted. The others go to vocational schools and the parents know just what that means. Again, after the completion of a five year middle school course, there is a rigid selection, the best being admitted to college. If, therefore, a Japanese parent knows that his son is admitted to these various schools intended to prepare for the learned professions, he is entitled to the belief that the boy has high grade capacity and that the chance for a position commensurate with his education will be good. Following the same sort of reasoning under the American system of education, he often reaches a false conclusion.

The unusual economic status of the people of American and North European ancestry is a great stimulus to all the rest. Nearly all are in positions of a superior character. The sons of Orientals, in particular, want to prove that they are just as capable as white men. One of the boys gave as his reason for choosing a profession, "To show that I am just as smart as Americans."

It is probable that a rigid caste system based on race would repress ambition by making its realization impossible. In Hawaii there is just enough race discrimination to stimulate ambition. Race constitutes an obstacle to advancement for the young men of most race groups, but not an insurmountable obstacle. There is practical equality of school privileges except as such privileges may be limited by poverty. There is prospective political equality. There is so much equality and near equality that adverse discrimination at certain points is a challenge to a more vigorous struggle. No important race group accepts inferiority of status except as a temporary necessity. It would be hard to find a population in which so many of the people have their faces set so strongly toward the achievement of a better social and economic status.

It is not a part of the purpose of this paper to present a picture of plantation life from the standpoint of the workers. The writer does not possess sufficient information to draw such a picture accurately and fairly. Nevertheless it is not possible to ignore the subject altogether, for the attitude of both parents and sons is, in considerable degree, an outcome of experience—experience under certain conditions and experience interpreted from a certain point of view.

Much has been done in recent years to improve living conditions on plantations. A better housing program is being carried steadily forward. Sanitary conditions have been and are being improved and with measureable gains to the workers. Provision is made through nurses for teaching mothers about the feeding and care of infants. Dairies have been introduced and enlarged and the milk sold at about the Honolulu wholesale price. Garden plots are provided rent free. There are supervised playgrounds for children and provision for the care of infants while their mothers are at work. There are organized outdoor sports. There are baseball leagues everywhere. Opportunities for other recreations and amusements are common. The boy scout and girl scout movement has reached some of the plantations and boys clubs may be found on many of them. On some plantations there is opportunity for adults to study English.

It would not be correct to say that these things are unappreciated, and still there is not much expression of appreciation. Naturally, when there is confidence and sincerity, there is more expression of sentiment relative to conditions regarded as bad than to the more favorable aspects of the situation. It is human nature to take for granted those good things that come so regularly that there is no ground for anxiety. Little is said about freedom from unemployment, the faithfulness of employers in keeping wage contracts, the fact that plantations frequently retain old men of little strength on their payrolls more as pensioners than as workers, that medical service, fuel, and house rent are free or that, on the whole, wages in Hawaii buy a greater abundance of the necessities of life than could be secured in their native countries, or that the sanitary conditions and medical service is such that death rates and infant mortality are lower than in the various native lands. This is normal. No one neglects the punctured tire to praise those that are working satisfactorily.

But most of this social welfare work is not along the line of the workers' main ambition. Instead of free housing, free fuel, and free medical service, he wants a house in which he would have definite rights—rights which he cannot have when a tenant at will. He wants medical service of his own choosing,

sports and amusements of his own choice, and income sufficient to pay for all needful expenditures. When a part of the actual wages is paid in the form of gratuities, there is a lessening of freedom, a reduction of status.

Any beneficial arrangement that tends to make an inferior status more pleasant will be accepted for what it is worth, but only those things that tend to improve status will arouse any enthusiasm among the workers or tend to make plantation employment seem to be desirable for their sons.

More in harmony with the fundamental attitudes of laborers is the system of contract employment which has been developing for many years, and under which most of the men work. What is known locally as the contract system is, in general, a substitute for the time wage system. Sometimes it is a mere piece wage, as when a man is permitted to count so many rows of cane planted as a day's work with extra pay for extra rows, or when he is paid by the ton for loading cane.

Under the crop contract system a man or a group of partners undertake to cultivate, fertilize, and irrigate a field, wages being dependent on the yield of sugar cane. The management advances minimum wages during the working season and pays the balance when the crop is harvested. This arrangement reduces the amount of supervision since there is self-interest. For the workers there is more chance for a real interest than when paid time wages. They can hope for a reward for good work and if the season is good, they may get a profit. Incentives are more nearly normal and status is better.

On certain plantations there is or has been something approaching a leasehold tenant system. The worker has leased a small piece of land for a crop period or perhaps for several crop periods, thus giving more security. Ordinarily the labor-leaseholder lacks capital and the plantation advances the cost of fertilizers and other materials and also minimum wages. The final compensation is based not only on the yield but on the price of sugar. In effect, the compensation is a share of the sugar produced. This arrangement goes a long distance toward creating the interests and incentives that normally belong to small independent farming and it tends to create a more favorable attitude toward sugar cane growing. The manager of a large plantation using this system told the writer that the sons of workers under the leasing system showed more tendency to remain on the plantation.

At present there does not appear to be a good prospect for the extension of this system. It is said to be best adapted to

plantations in the rainy districts where the land is on steep hillsides, or in small islands of good soil surrounded by recent lava flows where, consequently, old-fashioned methods must be used.<sup>1</sup>

Prominent among the unfavorable conditions to which reference is made are low wages; early rising; long hours; the burdensome, grimy character of the work done under hot sun and in the rain; lack of opportunity for promotion; racial discrimination in the better jobs; the way in which the laborers are treated by plantation foremen, policemen, and doctors; and, in general, a type of plantation discipline which denies what the workers regard as reasonable freedom.

If one were able to make a competent analysis of these grounds for dissatisfaction, he would not find that all stand on the same level. Some of them seem to grow out of the very necessities of the industry—physical or economic necessities. Probably, at the present stage of development, it is impossible to make field work attractive in itself. Cane is dirty; it cuts off the breezes; the sun is hot; loading cane is burdensome; in some sections there is much rain. In other matters improvement in working conditions is possible through technical progress. The recent introduction of cane loading machinery in certain sections which does away with some of the more burdensome work and makes a few superior jobs is a case in point. Such unpleasant work as irrigation has been reduced by various devices. Sometimes the work is made easier and cleaner at the same time. Given time and sufficient inducement, it is probable that the conditions of field work can be further improved through mechanical inventions and scientific and technical progress.

The system of race discrimination in plantation employment is as old as the industry and, while it is not absolutely rigid, it is firmly established. There are certain positions commonly filled by white men. The writer has seen some want advertisements—plantation advertisements for men for superior positions—the last words of which read, "must be white." The number of men of American and North European descent employed is not very great, but they hold nearly all of the high salaried positions. When one of these resigns the little community to which he belongs wants to have a man of the same race in his place. The few serve to cut off the chance of promotion to the many.

<sup>1</sup>For a more complete presentation of the methods of crop contracting and leasing see "Vocational Opportunity in the Cane Fields," an unpublished thesis by F. A. Clowes in the Library of the University of Hawaii.

The field foremen positions are filled typically by men of Portuguese birth or ancestry and by native Hawaiians. It appears to be the policy of managers not to select very many foremen from the racial groups that supply most of the workers. Of course there are exceptions—a good many of them in fact, for race discrimination is not rigid. One can find a Chinese man serving as sugar boiler and young men of Oriental ancestry and American education in other responsible, well paid positions. Nevertheless, the general impression among the workers who have many sons—the Japanese—is that they and their sons have small chance for promotion to the more desirable jobs. That this is an important factor in the determination of the attitude of the sons is evident from the conversation of fathers and the answers of school boys to attitude questionnaires.

The writer does not know whether this discrimination is just a carry-over from an earlier period when it was necessary—a mere custom or habit—or whether there is need for it in the existing situation. But in any case, it is safe to say that not many Hawaiian born and educated sons of plantation laborers will accept plantation work unless they can see a fair opportunity to win the preferred jobs on the basis of ability and character. ✓

And still it might puzzle a manager just how to bring this change about. He is not altogether free. He operates in a system of more or less established race relationships and might find it difficult to alter the system. It is a matter of greater difficulty to initiate a new social arrangement that will work than it is to invent a successful mechanical device. It may be said that there are certain local variations in practice which may be regarded as experiments. Possibly they are the forerunners of extensive readjustments.

My information relative to the relations of laborers to lunas, plantation policemen, and doctors is very incomplete and mainly from one side. It will be sufficient to say that most of these upper class employes are not popular; that the grievances of workers relate pretty largely to their contacts with the upper class employes, who, because they are commonly of other races as well as of a group exercising authority, are not responsive to the public opinion of the workers. If the owners and managers of plantations had some way of knowing more fully just what takes place, important improvements might result—improvements that would automatically work to the advantage of laborers and raise their status. ✓

It may be noted in this connection that the situation on the pineapple plantations is more satisfactory. This may be explained in part by differences inherent in the industry, but



perhaps of greater importance is the fact that pineapple production has not taken over the whole early tradition of plantation management. Of later development and coming after the abolition of indentured labor, its traditions are more favorable to labor. Apparently there is less race discrimination. They get along without a plantation policeman. The discipline is less rigid. The opportunities for promotion are better. Counterbalancing these advantages, in a measure, is the fact that employment is not so well distributed through the year. Most workers can secure summer employment only. Many pineapple harvest workers are cane field men most of the time.

Probably two-thirds of the men in plantation service, mainly Filipino men, are unmarried. The other third, mainly Japanese, secured wives in the last twenty-five years, relatively large numbers of women coming in 1912-1920. Consequently many of the families are of nearly maximum size so far as number of children below working age is concerned. The wages may be described as adequate for the single men. They are able to supply their necessities and to save some money. But many married men find it increasingly difficult to provide for their growing families and, while there is commonly a keen desire to accumulate something, saving may be almost out of the question. There is much complaint of poverty. Naturally this pinch of poverty is felt most by the very people who might contribute most to the labor supply—the people who are the parents of numerous children. That the low wages are a factor in the determination of the attitude of sons and fathers toward plantation employment can not be doubted.

Rigid discipline in some of its aspects, appears to be necessary to large scale agriculture. The workers must all go to work at the same time because transportation is furnished. The field may be one mile or six miles from the camp. The work must be highly specialized and without much change for any one worker. Hence the monotony. Much supervision is needed. If the work is to go on regularly and systematically, there must be some subordination of individual preference to the needs of the organization.

On the other hand, it is probable that some features of the discipline just happened because of the special circumstances under which it grew up. It may be said that most features of management are the products of experience. They were taken into the system because they worked, if not ideally, at least passably well. Doubtless any future modifications of the system will have to stand the same test.

It should not be inferred from the above that the system is entirely rigid and unchangeable. Slowly through the years

there have been some important changes. The piece work system, the crop contract system, and the leasing system have been of benefit both to the workers and the employers. The discipline on some plantations is less rigid than on others so that there is a greater sense of freedom among workers. In the main, it may be said that the attitude of the workers tends to correspond to the practical situation in which they find themselves, but there is also an influence from the old days when conditions were less favorable.



## THE ATTITUDE OF PARENTS

Data relative to the attitude of Japanese parents toward the education of their sons and of their opinions and attitudes in relation to occupational opportunities were secured by Mr. Dan Kane-Zo Kai, who visited in all sections of the Territory and conversed with numerous Japanese men and women in all walks of life. In his notes he translated freely at times and sometimes gave an abstract of the more important parts of the conversation. In quoting, the writer has further abstracted and sometimes has modified the form to correspond more precisely to the English idiom.

The quotations are selected to show something of the variety of attitudes and of the experience which lies back of the attitudes. While there is about the degree of difference in opinion that might be expected under the circumstances, the reader will note that there is practical unanimity on a few points. Plantation employment is not looked upon by any as offering a desirable career. While the reasons given for this attitude indicate much improvement in labor conditions on plantations since the old days, the improvement has not been of such a character as to cause any change so far as desire to remain is concerned. If a much more complete account of the data were made there would be no ground for modifying this conclusion.

That there is so much difference of opinion relative to education may surprise many people. This indicates a thoughtful response to a comparatively new situation.

The quotations are to be taken as representative of opinion and attitude. Doubtless they are representative also of the types of bias that naturally belong to the situation and they should be read with this in mind. In any case they go far to show that home influence is the predominant factor in the determination of the attitude of the boys toward plantation labor.

The following is a free account of the more significant parts of an evening's discussion carried on by nine plantation Japanese men at the home of one of them.

The parents feel that their children ought to earn good wages when through with their schooling.

They wish to send their children through high school at least, for grammar school graduates can not write letters correctly.

There is not much work for high school graduates on a plantation. They do not like to work their way up. They want a good position from the first. They lack tenacity.

If a young man starts to learn carpentry, he soon leaves the plantation for the city where he thinks he can get more pay.

The plantations have a gentlemen's agreement. A young man from one plantation can not get a job on a neighboring plantation unless he gets a release from his home plantation.

A high school boy does not want to be a luna (foreman) in the sugar cane field because his future would not be secure. He is subject to discharge and if discharged from one plantation he probably could not get a job as a luna on another plantation. He would have to begin all over again and learn a new trade.

When a young man learns a suitable trade he can go anywhere and be free from the restrictions he experiences on the plantation.

Young unmarried men do not appreciate free houses, free fuel and water, and free medical service.

A graduate from the local high school is not as much respected as a graduate from a high school in Honolulu.

In a few years Hawaii will be full of high school graduates. Then they must follow the current of the world.

If young men want to go to the cities let them go. When they can't get along in the cities they will return to the country.

Maybe the indisposition of the boys of Hawaii to begin at the bottom and work slowly upward grows out of a view of the situation best expressed by a middle-aged Japanese man who received part of his education in Hawaii. He said:

A young man can not do much if he does not realize his own ability. A Hawaii born young man is like a cockroach in a bath tub. If he tries to crawl out he falls in again and again. The wise cockroach will fly up and away instead of crawling.

A public school principal told of the efforts of the school to interest the boys in agricultural education:

The work was explained to sixty boys and they were asked to talk it over with their parents. Only a few decided to take the agricultural course. Fifteen boys were sent to a private parochial school because the parents feared that the public school would force their children to study agriculture. Boys will not take agriculture because they see no chances for the better paid jobs.

A woman in charge of a nursery for small children gave an account of the day's work for mothers who work in the fields:

Japanese mothers get up in the morning from 3:30 to 4 o'clock. They prepare breakfast, also some food for lunch to be taken to the field, and give some attention to the children. They bring their babies to the nursery at 4:30 to 5 o'clock and then report for duty. They have to be ready to take the train that carries them to work at 5:45 o'clock. Those who act as helpers to cane loaders quit work at 2:30 p. m. and the others at 4:30. They come to the nursery for the babies at 3-5 o'clock. Cooking, housework, and care of the children require several hours, and they are through for the day at 7:30-8:30 p. m.

A Japanese man in a better than average job on a plantation said:

The welfare workers on plantations are not doing much for the people on plantations for they can not speak to the managers for the people. These welfare workers seek their own interest before the interest of the working men. Plantations need Japanese and Filipino welfare workers.

A small farmer expressed his opinion as follows:

It might be well for the Japanese to plant coffee trees and grow pineapples and vegetables when they leave the plantations, for though some go to the cities, many will have to remain in the country. Not all can get a job in the cities. Today most of our youth want to go to the cities, but if we can persuade them to stay in the country they will live in the country. First of all we must get them to change their minds. The question is: How can we do this?

The visitor writes:

Because of the low price of sugar and the consequent low wages, the larger Japanese families found it very hard to make a living. They said that three families had moved to Honolulu. One family had a son and a married daughter; and another, a son, previously established in Honolulu. The children are expected to help the parents until they are established in the city. This is the "hand-vine" method of transferring from plantation to city.

A plantation employe said:

The young men might stay on the plantation, even though they are high school graduates, if they were paid more. The Hawaiian born boys would work hard if they could get money. They have a keen sense of money for their parents talk money constantly. But we can not blame them for that because they are having a hard time to rear their children.

Parents discourage their children from working in the soil. When a child can not do well in his school work the parent says to him, 'If you don't study hard you must be a farmer like your father.' The children naturally come to think that farming is a mean occupation. But many young men will have to work on plantations or in coffee groves whether they like it or not. Pretty soon there will be too many high school boys for white collar jobs.

A father in plantation employment said:

I can not stay on the plantation when I get old. I will get a homestead for my boys. They will like to stay in the country if they have their own property. I will buy land for them. I can do this because some Portuguese are selling their land to leave for the Mainland.

Another man said:

The lunas say, 'The Japanese are lazy.' But they are too old to work with the young Filipinos. If the Japanese do not work 23 days in a month they do not get the bonus. If they

stay at home they have to hear ugly words from the lips of the luna.

Just the other day a luna said, 'The Japanese are expensive for they occupy a big house.' Of course they do. They have big families. Twenty years ago they were like the Filipinos, without families.

In a group of young men, some born in Hawaii and all educated here, the following sentiments were expressed by various members:

We want to give our children a high school education.

No, let them struggle after they have finished the grammar school; high school boys like white collar jobs which are scarce from now on.

The experience of the real world is better than a high school education.

The children must choose their own vocation. We can not force them.

Throw all the Scotch out of Hawaii. The Japanese don't want to stay on the plantation. We want to get more money.

Our children should engage in agriculture, but not in sugar cane cultivation.

We can buy land from the Portuguese who are going to the mainland.

The most serious complaints against the treatment on plantations were made by old men who have not worked on the plantation for many years—small independent farmers, as a rule. Recent conditions are much improved. Perhaps men no longer in plantation service feel more free to talk. The dramatic features of earlier experience constitute the subject matter of reminiscence. A small farmer near a plantation related old time plantation experience as follows:

We came to Hawaii intending to stay only three years. So we tried to save as much as possible out of \$12.50 or \$15.00 a month wages. We had to sleep crammed in a small house. Moral conditions were bad. A group would gamble beside a sick man's pillow. The treatment was bad. Plantation doctors were unkind. Many slackers, make-believe sick men, were natural products of such an environment. In the cane field men were driven by the luna shouting constantly, 'go ahead, go ahead.' Sometimes a sick man was forced to work and sometimes a make-believe sick man was successful in deceiving the doctor.

In one case the doctor snapped out: 'He is not sick', because the really sick man smiled according to Japanese custom. After that a well man would go to the doctor's office and by twisting his face and rubbing his body as if in pain would get a day off to rest and then would gamble all the day. The plantation of today is much better than it was formerly for the lunas of that time were mostly bad men and the Japanese, too, were bad ones.

Yes, I sometimes tell my children of old time experience. I think it good to let our children know how hard their parents had to work. These stories may give them a stimulus.

The visitor spent some days in a small remote community of independent Japanese farmers. A few owned their land and others were leaseholders. Eighteen of them took part in a discussion at a language school. In response to the question, "Why do you prefer to live here in this remote place?" the following reasons were given:

Nothing is so disagreeable as being driven by a luna who keeps crying, 'Go ahead, go ahead,' at our back.

Even if we are given a good house (on a plantation), we can not do anything with it. We want to live and to feel at home in our own house even if it be a small one.

We can not make money here, but we do not worry about time and the luna. If we oversleep in the morning ten minutes, we do not have to lose a day. If we take a day's rest, we regain it by working twice as hard next day. If we get sick, we can go to a public hospital. Our children play about on the farm with us. They can not acquire the candy buying habit like plantation children. Since our community is small, social expenses are small.

In reply to the question, "What suggestion would you make to make plantation life better?" the following answer was given:

Let us have our own lands so that we can build our own houses on them. Let us lease the land to grow sugar cane in our own way, i.e., without lunas. Give prizes for the best crops and make the mill buy our cane at a reasonable price. Then we can feel at home and grow good cane.

The visitor spent a short time in a homestead district devoted to cane growing. Originally there were homesteaders of three race groups, native Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Japanese—all native born citizens. After about fifteen years the Japanese only remain, the Hawaiians and Portuguese having sold or leased their lands. The cane is ground at a near-by plantation mill. The visit was too short to secure a general expression of opinion and attitude, but one farmer who had won a prize for the highest yield of cane was enthusiastic about his work. He had made 87 tons to the acre and said, "I expect to make 90 tons this year." He had received only a sixth grade education and said that he wanted to give his children a better education. There is no high school near this district and the people are not thinking much about it yet.

Two ways of looking toward a permanent return to Japan are indicated by the following excerpts:

A man after many years abroad acts like a crazy man as his boat approaches Japan. He is exceedingly joyous. He forgets to have lunch for he is absorbed with the beauty of Japan in the mist of distance. He wishes to see his parents' faces once more for they are old now.

A man who had lived in Hawaii 28 years returned to his home. His parents were glad to see him, but he did not know his relatives. He had to be introduced to them. He did not feel that he was at home. His children asked him, 'Papa, why did you come to such a place as this? Let us go back to Hawaii soon.' When they received letters from friends in Hawaii, the children would urge, 'Papa, when do we go back to Hawaii?'

The visitor noted that in this remote, small rural community there was an atmosphere of freedom and happiness, although the incomes were small.

An aged Japanese man, a successful small farmer in this district, commented on our education as follows:

It seems to me that the educational system of today is in error. Young men are not taught to love the taste of labor. They are not made to taste the bitterness of hard work. They are exposed to the atmosphere of luxury. They long for superficial luxury and do not strive for a spiritual culture.

The Kona district is devoted mainly to coffee growing. There is a little dairying, and pigs, poultry, fruit and vegetables are produced for the Honolulu market. There are several hundred small farmers, principally Japanese. Several hundred employed laborers live in the district. Since there are many small and no very large employers there is a freedom that does not exist on the plantations. No social gulf separates the small leaseholding farmer from the employed man. An energetic young man can without great difficulty become a coffee farmer.

The visitor observed that the Kona district is contented. A former university student told the writer that there is a tradition among the Japanese of Kona that if a man lives in Kona a few years, he will not leave; or if he leaves, he will return. Speaking of a certain family the visitor writes:

This family does not work hard nor yet does it seem to worry. Such life is what the Japanese call '*nonki*'—satisfied day by day. Most of the Japanese in Kona are leading such a life.

A Kona resident said:

Kona has been a city of refuge for the Japanese unable to stand plantation life.

Old Japanese go to Japan to visit, but they will come back to Kona again.

Many young men who are growing coffee did not receive much education. But today boys after high school graduation do not like to stay in the coffee fields.

The visitor again notes:

Kona young men are frank and open, and most of them seem independent.

The writer recalls a certain university student from Kona, a young man of Japanese parentage, whose attitude and bearing were such that his most intimate friends were white students. He is the only Japanese who has been admitted into a certain secret society. Does the free air of Kona favor the development of American traits?

[ A Kona storekeeper said:

A high school education is desirable, but if a boy, after graduation, stays at home and works at common labor his neighbors consider him worthless and his parents are sorry and think that his education is worthless.

A Hawaiian born Japanese woman, the wife of a Kona coffee grower, said:

We prefer Kona to the sugar plantation as a place to bring up children. On the plantation the houses stand too close to each other for privacy. There are some careless single men who exert a bad influence on children.

I am worrying about the future of my fourteen year old boy. We want to send him to high school. But when he is through with high school he might not like to work. This is what worries us.

She also quoted an old Japanese maxim: "If you love your child, teach him five times, admire him three times, scold him two times, and make him a good man."

Another Kona storekeeper said:

Many Japanese begin to doubt the value of high school education for their children, for high school graduates can not find a position which draws as high a salary as they expected.

The plantation does not treat the Japanese equally with the white people. The Japanese are paid less and have no chance for advancement.

Another coffee grower said:

Six out of ten children now in high school and college are sent by their parents because their neighbors' children are in high school or college. Many of the young men want to get white collar jobs but finally they will come back to the country. There are not so many jobs in the cities.

[ Another Kona farmer said:

A higher education was all right in the past, but its value for the future is doubtful.

There is some complaint as to the influence of the high school on the young people.

High school girls copy the styles of their teachers. They like to wear silk stockings. They do not like to work after school as their older sisters used to do.

Some of the girls go out of their homes with their books, but where they go we do not know.

When Japanese pupils stay with Kanakas they lose their manners.

This note of criticism and doubt relative to the desirability of a high school education was sounded more frequently in Kona than elsewhere. Perhaps the more normal and independent position of the parents favors a more rational response to a type of education that appears to create a situation of mal-adjustment for many of the children. ✓



## ALTERNATIVES

If the plantations were not able to secure laborers from the outside and if the Hawaiian born boys were not free to leave Hawaii, some sort of working agreement would be a necessity. If the young men were free to leave without a corresponding freedom of the planters to bring in additional laborers, it would be necessary for the planters to offer terms of employment sufficiently attractive to hold a fair proportion of the young men. Unless the attitude of the boys and young men should undergo a change, it might be impossible to do this without raising the cost of producing sugar above its value, in which case the industry would be gradually extinguished, except perhaps for some of the best plantations.

If the young men were not free to leave while the planters continued to enjoy the right to bring in foreign born workers, it would be necessary for the native born young men to accept conditions not greatly different from those on which foreign born men could be secured, and they would be under the necessity of abandoning their ambition for an American standard of living.

But none of these hypotheses correspond to the facts of the situation. The young men are citizens of the United States and they are free to go to the United States or to other countries. While there is much restriction relative to the immigration or importation of laborers to Hawaii as an integral part of the United States (not a possession), these restrictions do not apply at present to the Filipinos who come or are brought constantly. Each side has another alternative. It may be assumed that the planters will continue to bring outside laborers unless they can secure the native born on terms that are approximately satisfactory. For many of the plantations there is only a small margin between the cost of sugar production and the value of the product. The competition of other sugar producing regions is increasingly active. It is not clear that wages can be increased much unless, through increased efficiency, a day's work will produce more sugar. With good will on the part of directors and managers, it is probable that some improvement in conditions that affect status can be effected, and, given sufficient time, these improvements might be very important. But it may be difficult to make such improvements sufficient in degree and with the promptitude necessary to bring about any great change in the attitude of the boys and young men. So far as the Japanese boys are concerned, the issue will be settled one way or the other in the next ten or fifteen years. After that a similar problem may arise in relation to the sons of Filipinos.

Likewise, if the Hawaiian born boys can not secure employment in Hawaii on approximately satisfactory terms, they will seek their fortune elsewhere. Of course there are some obstacles to such a course. They hesitate to break family ties. Some hesitate to go to the mainland on account of race prejudice. Perhaps the schooling here in Hawaii does not fit them for the sort of work that would be open to them on the mainland. Some who have gone to the mainland with exaggerated notions of its opportunities and, perhaps, of their own abilities, have met with severe disappointment.

And still there is a small but constant stream of emigration toward the mainland: Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Porto Rican, and Spanish. Doubtless some of each race will solve the problem of how to get on under mainland conditions. They can do this if they will accept the sorts of employment commonly open to immigrants. They will have to begin at the bottom and trust to their industry, ability, and character to bring the preferred opportunities. When some do this, they will establish centers to which their friends will go in increasing numbers. Unless plantation life is made more attractive, it is not improbable that most of the Hawaiian born young men who fail to find employment in the secondary industries will emigrate.

## TWO POSSIBLE EXPERIMENTS

In response to requests from some friends that there be some suggestion toward a constructive program, the writer proposes two experiments.

Numerous writers have noted that modern large scale industrial organization does not succeed well in enlisting the interest of the worker, in supplying appropriate incentives, or in giving a sense of self-realization. The worker does not plan nor watch his plan come to fruition. He does not see the significance of his own small part in its larger relations. Spiritually, he is not enlisted.

On the other hand, there is a tremendous gain in efficiency from the standpoint of the use of machinery, of scientific discoveries, and of organization.

In the United States and many other countries the advantages of large scale methods in manufacture, transportation, and mining are so great that the issue may be considered as decided. The big enterprise has come to stay. The problem is to work out some arrangement through which human interests will be more fully conserved. Some business men are now conducting very interesting experiments along this line.

But in the field of agriculture the small farm still prevails in the United States. Most farming is done on farms of such size that the farmer and the other members of the family can do most of the work. Ordinarily the advantages of large scale farming are not sufficient to counterbalance the losses involved in depriving the worker of his personal interest in the work.

Many thoughtful people who come to Hawaii think that the great plantations should be broken up into small farms—that this procedure is the one way to solve the labor problem. But a consideration of the special conditions of tropical agriculture gives rise to doubts as to whether the small farm procedure could be made to work successfully. Certain it is that the whole technique of Hawaii's important agriculture has been worked out on the basis of large plantation cultivation. If a change were to be made to small farming, some of this technique—very important parts of it—would be lost. Possibly a new small farm technique could be developed in time if complete failure did not end the experiment too soon. On the whole, one must view such an experiment as pretty sure to involve losses, at least in the early stages. The losses on the side of technique would be greatest at the beginning. The gains through the greater appeal to self-interest and the improvement of incentives and attitudes generally would be least in the beginning. It is possible that

if the experiment were conducted under favorable conditions and with a subsidy during the earlier years, it might demonstrate the advantage of small farming even in the tropics.

Two experiments therefore are suggested. Probably they could be made best in connection with the Experiment Station of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The experiment should be made on two rather small isolated plantations where the land and weather conditions are favorable.

On one plantation, let the experiment be to determine whether industrial relations can be organized in such a way as to make the life attractive to workers—sufficiently attractive that fathers will desire their sons to succeed them. Let all this be done, while operating the plantation as one large scale farm and using all the labor-saving devices and scientific knowledge available. It is not necessary to present details of such an experiment at this time.

On the other plantation, let the experiment be to determine whether farming can be made both economic and attractive on the basis of numerous small farms, leased with the right of purchase at their true value. In order to give the experiment any chance to succeed, it would be necessary to select the farmers on the basis of their fitness. Preference should be given to men who have a good record as contract or leasehold cultivators and to men who have boys able and willing to help and to succeed them. The cultivation methods should be with the counsel of some man competent to manage a plantation and with zeal for the success of the experiment. It would be necessary for the small farmers to have some method of cooperation in the use of water, machinery and other equipment, and in harvesting. They should have some expert counsel in getting started.

Of course, both experiments might bring only negative results. But they might bring results that, under certain possible conditions, say Filipino independence and exclusion, would be of very great advantage not only to the workers but to the industry generally.

## CONCLUSIONS

It has been held that the public school system of Hawaii is the principal cause of the attitude of boys toward plantation labor. Probably it is, in a certain sense, a factor of considerable importance. If the boys had no schooling, their alternative opportunities would be much reduced and, perforce, they might accept plantation employment. In a general way the whole spirit of our public school system is permeated with the ideals of democracy, and children of good native ability who imbibe these ideals are unwilling to accept permanently a position of inferior status.

But, so far as the writer knows, there has been no organized school propaganda against plantation work. On the contrary, the teachers more or less try to direct the interest of children toward the plantation. They realize that other sorts of opportunity will be insufficient. Some are hoping for a betterment in the conditions of plantation employment.

To explain the attitude of boys and young men toward plantation life one has to take into consideration three sets of factors:

1. The important features of the cultural system of the native lands of the immigrant laborers. A man acquires his outlook on life largely in his youth and in turn he passes it on to his sons.
2. The practical conditions of plantation life in Hawaii as they have developed historically, and as they have played a part in the experience of the workers.
3. General influences of the social environment in Hawaii—all factors (including the schools), that tend toward Americanization.

The new vocational school work in agriculture may be of great service if conditions shall become such that agriculture will be attractive to a considerable number of boys. But with the present attitude of most boys toward field work there will be few of the older boys to elect the work. The natural interest of the subject may attract the younger boys who have not reflected on its occupational significance. If the parents get the idea that vocational education is a device to direct their children toward the jobs of lower pay and status, they will quietly veto the plan. When the plantation manager manifests his approval of school training in agriculture, he should make it perfectly clear that worth while opportunities await the boy of good character and ability who does the work successfully. Nor should he be surprised if parents tend to be skeptical until there are a sufficient number of illustrative examples.

The facts do not definitely warrant the conclusion that readjustment is impossible. But, if possible, it will be difficult. If the planters were to try to modify the conditions of field employment in such a way as to attract large numbers of Hawaiian born and educated boys while they are in the present mood, the effort would fail. If the best efforts of all available agencies were brought to bear on the boys and their parents to induce them to favor plantation service without definite plans for the improvement of the status of the worker, such efforts would fail. It is just possible that a serious effort on both sides would succeed. There are some facts in the situation that would be favorable to success. The financial leaders of the Territory are well organized. Among them are men of far vision, with a sense of social responsibility, men disposed to accept a difficult problem as a challenge. They have a great tradition back of them. The fathers of most of the boys now living on the plantations are of a people who possess some unusually valuable characteristics. Probably there is no nation whose people have a higher degree of self-control than do the Japanese people. It is in their traditions. Given a general direction of social effort, they are unsurpassed in ability to reexamine the situation and, if there is adequate reason for so doing, to redirect effort. If the planters can devise and set up a modified type of industrial relationship that will conserve reasonably the general economic interests of the investors and at the same time the reasonable human interests of the workers, they would find in the Japanese workers men more than ordinarily capable of responding to the new situation.

If any effort were to be made along this line, it would be necessary to establish communication between directors and managers on the one hand and workers on the other—communication of the sort necessary to enable each side to understand the other and to establish confidence.